

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11  
ACDA-12 TRSE-00 HA-05 IO-13 /096 W  
-----059808 270426Z /11

R 251441Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3045  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4119

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: NATO CSCE FR NL  
SUBJECT: FRENCH RESTRICTIONS ON NATO CONSULTATIONS

REF: STATE 182284

1. WE DISCUSSED CURRENT NATO MATTERS, AS SEEN  
FROM THE DUTCH PERSPECTIVE, WITH J.T. WARMENHOVEN,  
WHO HAS BEEN DEPT. DIRECTOR OF ATLANTIC COOPERATION  
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AND SECURITY AFFAIRS IN THE MFA AND WHO IS LEAVING  
TO BECOME DUTCH DCM IN ATHENS. WE HAVE FOUND  
WARMENHOVEN TO BE A CAREFUL OBSERVER OF NATO AFFAIRS  
THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS AND HIS COMMENTS REGARDING NATO  
CONSULTATIONS ARE OF INTEREST; PLEASE PROTECT HIS VIEWS.

2. WE DREW ON REFTEL TO SET FORTH US VIEWS REGARDING

THE IMPORTANCE OF NATO CONSULTATIONS AND NOTED OUR DETERMINATION TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION WITH THE FRENCH IF POSSIBLE. WARMENHAOVEN AGREED WITH ALMOST ALL THE POINTS WE MADE AND SAID THE KEY FACTOR FOR THE DUTCH IN NATO CONSULTATIONS WILL ALWAYS BE ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY. WHILE ALL CONSULTATIONS ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED, THOSE THAT ENHANCE SOLIDARITY, OR THE APPEARANCE OF IT, ARE PARTICULARLY WELCOME AND SHOULD BE WELL PUBLICIZED. HOWEVER, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS DO NOT ALWAYS END IN AGREEMENT. DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ALLIANCE PARTNERS SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED SO THAT THE SOVIETS AND OTHER ALLIANCE CRITICS HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY TO USE ANY CONSULTATIONS WHICH HAVE DIVISIVE RESULTS TO DRAW ATTENTION TO SPLITS BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE 14 OR BETWEEN THE NINE AND NATO. HE SUGGESTED THAT DISCUSSIONS WITHIN NATO REGARDING THE SENTENCING OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS WOULD PERHAPS PROVIDE A USEFUL INDICATION REGARDING FRENCH INTENTIONS ON CONSULTATIONS, HAVING IN MIND THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE GERMANS IN AGREEING ON THE EC 9 STATEMENT ISSUED LAST WEEK AFTER THE SENTENCING OF SHCHARANCSKY.

3. WARMENHOVEN SAID THAT IN GENERAL THE DUTCH ARE MUCH MORE CRITICAL OF AMBASSADOR TINE THAN WE ARE AND THEY CONSIDER HIM UNPLEASANT, AN UNNECESSARY IRRITANT IN RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ALLIANCE PARTNERS, AND A COMPLI-  
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CATING FACTOR IN EFFORTS TO CONSULT. THEY FEEL THAT HE CAME TO THIS ASSIGNMENT WITH THE INTENTION OF MAKING A NAME FOR HIMSELF AND HE IS THEREFORE MUCH MORE INCLINED TO SEEK OUT OPPORTUNITIES FOR DISAGREEMENT THEN DE ROSE, WHO WOULD REMAIN SILENT WHEN NOT INSTRUCTED TO DISAGREE. ARMENHAOVEN ALSO WAS MORE EXPLICIT REGARDING THE EXTENT TO WHICH AMBASSADOR TINE DOES NOT ALWAYS REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE QUAI D'ORSAY. IN ADDITION TO THE FACTOR OF HIS PERSONAL AMBITION, AND SOMETIMES BECAUSE OF IT, TINE IS LIKELY TO BECOME INVOLVED IN INTERNAL FRENCH POLITICS; THE DUTCH ARE OFTEN UNSURE WHETHER HIS VIEWS REFLECT THE QUAI, THE ELYSEE OR HIS OWN PERCEPTION OF ONE OR THE OTHER.

4. FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE HAGUE WE WOULD ANSWER PARAGRAPH 6 OF REFTTEL BY SAYING THAT NATO CONSULTATIONS ON CSCE SHOULD INDEED BE CARRIED OUT. THE DUTCH WOULD ARGUE THAT CONSULTATIONS REMAIN OF VITAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE ALLIANCE, THAT CSCE IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE, AND THAT THE BEST METHOD OF PROCEEDING IS FOR THE US TO SHARE ITS VIEWS IN CUSTOMARY WAYS--IF THE FRENCH PERSIST IN THEIR OBJECTIONS, WE WILL THEN HAVE TO

CONSULT URGENTLY ON THE STEPS TO TAKE BUT ANTICIPATION  
FO THEIR DISPLEASURE SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO OBSTRUCT  
THE WORK OF THE ALLIANCE.  
BROWN

NOTE BY OC/T: MESSAGE DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLICIES, ALLIANCE, COLLECTIVE SECURITY  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 jul 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Document Number:** 1978THEHA04119  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
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**Reference:** 78 STATE 182284  
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**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRENCH RESTRICTIONS ON NATO CONSULTATIONS  
**TAGS:** SHUM, OCON, MILI, FR, NL, NATO, CSCE  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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